

# CLOAK AND SWAGGER

*Miles to go, and secrets to keep: A CIA original is proud of the dirty tricks he did for Uncle Sam*

BY ROBERT ERINGER

Double agents selling secrets to foreign governments; defectors running amok in the streets of Washington; allies betraying allies — these days spies are out of the shadows and on the spot.

Yet espionage isn't what it once was, and at least one Cold War vet fondly remembers overthrowing unfriendly governments, planning assassinations and performing dirty tricks. Most of all, retired CIA officer Miles Copeland yearns for the good old days when secret agents kept their secrets secret — from the government and especially from the press.

Born in Birmingham, Ala., Copeland joined the Army in 1940. Assigned to the Counter-Intelligence Corps, he transferred in 1942 to the new Office of Strategic Services, the first U.S. secret intelligence agency. After the war, Copeland was station chief in Damascus, "putting Syria," as he recalls, "on the path to democracy by starting a military dictatorship." For this achievement, he was awarded a presidential citation.

Copeland became a member of the Central Intelligence Agency when it was founded in 1947; he was appointed chief of the agency's Political Action Staff, the dirty-tricks department, in 1950. "Nobody," he says, "knows more about changing governments, by force or otherwise, than me." Copeland left government service in 1957 to form his own "private CIA," which he says became the largest

ROBERT ERINGER writes for Rolling Stone.

private security service in Africa and the Middle East.

Although Copeland has spent much of his life in the shadows, his sons live in the glare of the rock music world: Miles III manages the Police and its solo star, Sting; Ian founded a music-booking agency; and Stewart was a drummer for the Police. Copeland, 72, and his wife, Lorraine, an archaeologist, live in a stone cottage in the hamlet of Aston Rowant, near Oxford, England.

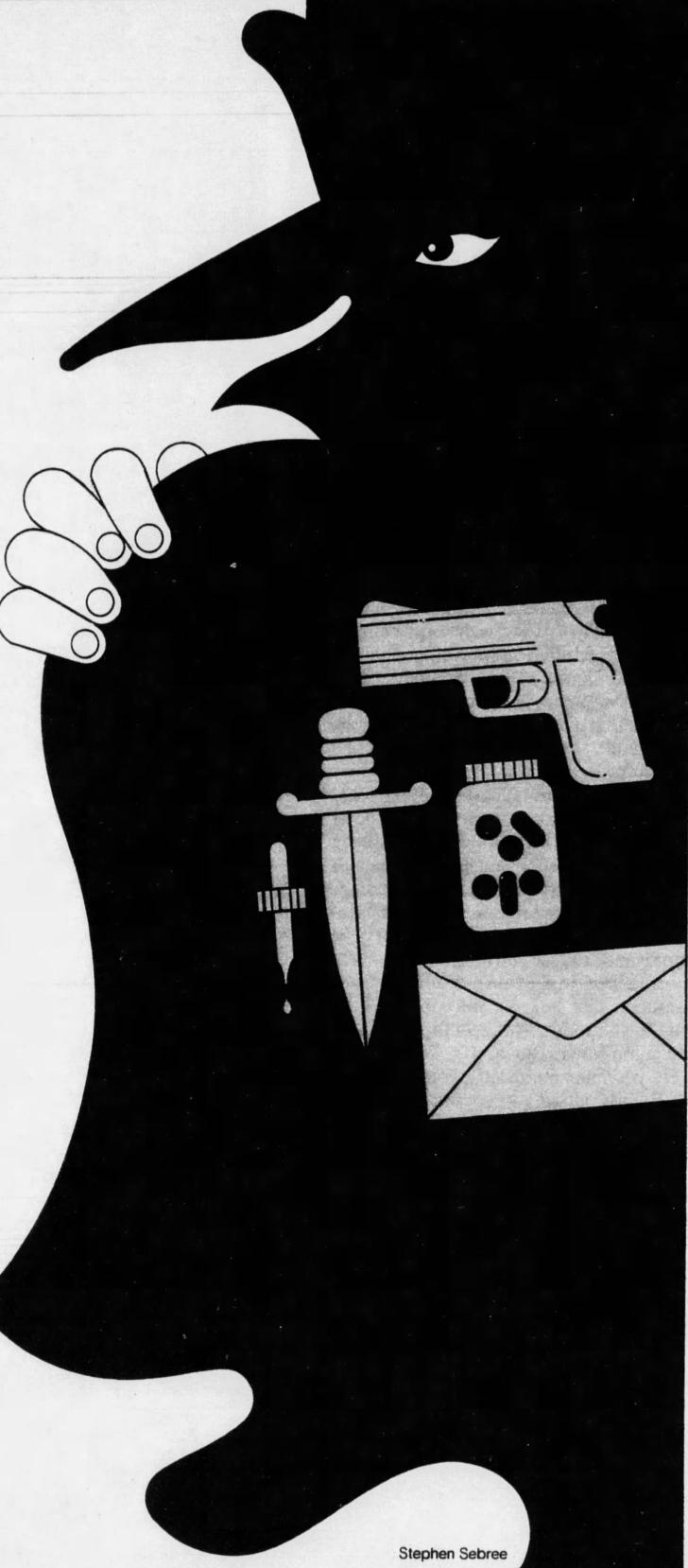
Q. The White House has given the CIA some of the job of handling terrorism. What do you think they will do that is different from what has already been done?

A. You know, you're opening a real can of worms here. The difference between the CIA's counterterrorist experts and this new kind that's been proliferating all over the place is that the CIA has operators who *know* the terrorists, who've actually talked to a few, who've even lived with them, or who, like myself, have actually *been* terrorists.

We understand the enemy, while these instant experts who've been advising the White House have never in their lives laid eyes on a terrorist, and they think of them as common criminals.

Maybe they are, and maybe they aren't, but where these recent "experts" are wrong is that they assume they are criminals simply because they are judging them as though they are Americans, brought up on American ideas of what's right and

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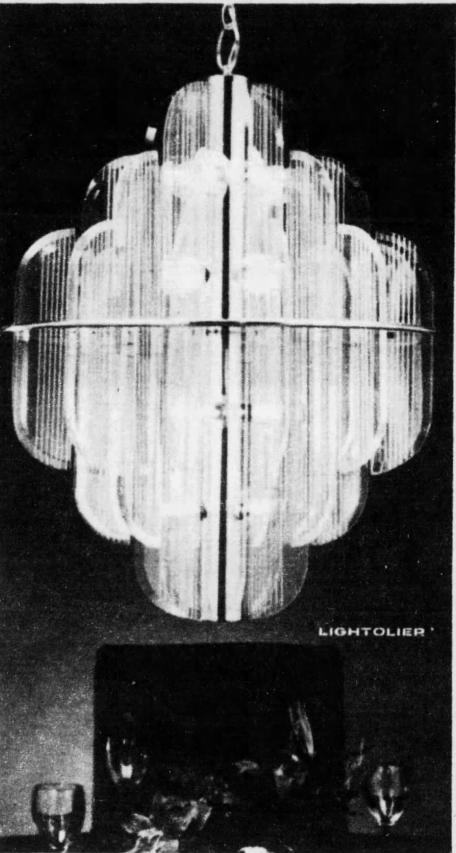
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## SECRET AGENT

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what's wrong. They are making moral judgments that aren't relevant to the situation. What may be effective in combatting crime is not likely to be effective in dealing with wrongdoers who in their own eyes, whether rightly or wrongly, think they are engaged in some noble cause. The Pentagon wants to kill them; the CIA wants to win them over.

Q. So how do you deal with terrorists?

A. You've got to know who they are. You've got to know their reasons for doing it. And you've got to manipulate them in one way or another. We have to somehow come to grips with the problem. The Israelis went into Lebanon and killed tens of thousands of people. They say, "That's exaggerating. We didn't kill but 5,000 people." OK, let's say they killed only 2,000 people, a very modest estimate. But they destroyed Lebanon.

They then set up groups against each other, made chaos 10 times worse than it

already was. Instead of helping the Shiites — the Shiites welcomed the Israelis in — we, the United States, gave a billion dollars to the Israelis. One billion we gave because it costs a lot of money to destroy someone else's country. We gave peanuts — Red Cross supplies — to the Shiites. What we should have done is gone in there and said to the Shiites: "Look, a lot of injustice has been done. We're going to put your orange groves back and put you back commercially . . ."

Q. Is that your answer for potential terrorists? Give them lots of aid to keep them sweet?

A. No. Let's get back to the reason these guys are terrorists. They're terrorists because their orange groves have been destroyed and they've got nothing to do. They can't even get to their farms because the Israelis have declared them out of bounds and destroyed a lot of them. Now, the CIA's job is to explain all of this to our government. That's the main job of the CIA — to go to the White House and explain to the president that the only reason these terrorists are terrorists is because of the way they've been treated, and they've got nothing else to do.

In fact, I'll tell you quite frankly, if people came into Alabama, my home state,

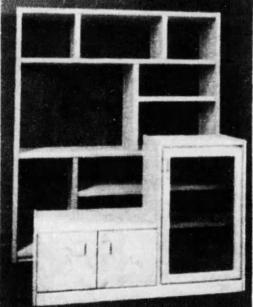
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and destroyed my farms and kicked me around and kicked my children around, I'm going to become a terrorist, just as the French became terrorists under the Germans in World War II. It's understandable. The CIA understood this and understood it very well and explained it to the president. But we had pressures from Congress. The members of Congress don't give a damn about foreign affairs. They give a damn about their next election. They have to do what makes them popular enough with their constituents to get re-elected. And their constituency cares about one place in this world, and that's the United States.

Q. What should we do to combat terrorism now that the damage has been done?

A. Well, most terrorists in the world are coming down to two categories. The first kind are people such as the Palestinians, who've had — listen, I've known this one family for the past 40 years. The guy has polio; he's crippled. He has some teen-age kids who are nice kids, nice family. The Israelis showed up at 6 o'clock in the evening and said:

"Everybody out! Everybody out!" They all got out, and the Israelis razed his house. He says: "I haven't done a damn thing! I'm just looking after my orange groves!" They said, "You had a terrorist in your house six months ago." First place, he said he hadn't, and I believe he was

teen-age kids stood there and watched their family being destroyed and their mother kicked downstairs when she refused to leave the house. Can you imagine their *not* becoming terrorists? They don't have an air force or artillery. I had a Shiite ask me: "You say we

whole village is destroyed!

This isn't just the Shiites talking. Our own embassy says this. You know something that very few people know, and I suspect you ought to leave all this out, but the fact is, in the American foreign service, there are a lot of patriots. You've never seen such patriots in your life. They all fight for American policy, right or wrong. Central America, Vietnam, wherever, except in the Middle East. The whole career service in the Middle East spends all its time fighting its own government. Any one who doubts that can use the Freedom of Information Act to get the cables, all of them pleading with our own government to stop this support of Israel to that point. I don't mean stop supporting Israel, but stop the behavior of Israel, which is making them hated. And we are backing them against these people they've kicked around. And how did the Israelis get in power? Terrorism.

You'd think they'd know something about terrorism since the heads of their government have

Continued

*"If people came into Alabama, my home state, and destroyed my farms and kicked me around and kicked my children around, I'm going to become a terrorist, just as the French became terrorists under the Germans in World War II."*

telling the truth. But the Israelis had no good reason to believe he wasn't — no name, no information at all.

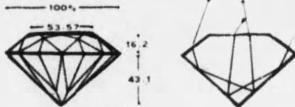
Now this is information that our embassy reported. This is official, not something I heard from the PLO information office. Now those two

shouldn't use terrorism. What should we use?" Well, you shouldn't use anything, we might say. You should make peace with Israel. Make peace with Israel? They've just destroyed my land! I have nothing! My house is flattened! The

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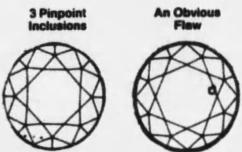
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## SECRET AGENT

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been terrorists themselves. In fact, Israel wouldn't be there if it hadn't been for their effective terrorists. But they know nothing about terrorism. A friend of mine in Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency, said: "Terrorism is not going to destroy Israel, but our counterterrorism might, because it costs us a million dollars a day. It might drive us into bankruptcy."

Q. So what's the answer to terrorism?

A. Like I was saying, we have to find the reason these people are terrorists. The job of the CIA is to report why they are terrorists. Now I said there are two categories. The first, people who have been deprived and been ruined. The second category is this: A lot of these guys have found a way of life. They're like gunslingers in the Old West. They drive Mercedes. There are professional terrorists now. It's a profitable business. Maybe they were criminals originally, criminally inclined, but now they have political motivations to justify themselves. You're not going to find them. Many of them are in Paris, and the French police don't give a damn.

The fact is that we are fighting a "proxy war" right now in which Soviet proxies face our proxies. Today's war, between us and the Soviets, is a mosaic of regional wars. The Soviet policy is one of denial, not to gain territory for themselves but to deny it to us, to deprive us of the raw materials from Africa — cobalt, magnesium, chromium — that we have to have for a highly technological society like ours.

Q. Are you saying the Soviets are behind terrorism?

A. No, they exploit the troubles. Most of the terrorism in the world today the Soviets do not instigate. They may train key people to go in and stir things up, but that's as far as they go. The Soviets are delighted when we draw up a gunboat in the Beirut harbor. They love this. It makes people hate us. The thing we should have done about the TWA hijacking in Beirut is get the damn thing over with right away, as the CIA advised.

Q. And how would we have done that?

A. Let the Shiites loose. Forget it. We've lost this one.

Q. Wouldn't giving in like that encourage more terrorism?

A. No. What encourages them is to get all that prime time on television. They wanted the publicity they got. And they wanted us to look like jackasses, which they succeeded in doing. In a war, you lose battles now and then. The best thing to do is cut your losses and get the hell out. They were hoping we'd drag it out.

Q. You think the media was out of control?

A. The media is always out of control. It's not supposed to be under control. That's what we have to live with in a free society. You can't prevent the media from doing what it wants to do. But you can prevent the media from getting the information in the first place, by having rules for those who have the secrets not to release them to the media.

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## SECRET AGENT

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Q. Who gets your highest marks as CIA director?

A. I'd have to name two people, and for totally different reasons. I think George Bush was the best. He came in knowing he didn't know a damn thing about the CIA, but he did know how to judge people whose opinions he could trust, and he listened to them.

Q. Who is second?

A. Dick Helms.

Q. Helms lied to a congressional committee.

A. That's one of his fortunate traits, that he's willing to lie to a congressional committee. William Colby didn't have the guts to do this. Lacking patriotism, he did not lie.

Q. Wait a minute — lacking patriotism?

A. Absolutely. Why should he tell a group things he knew would leak to the newspapers? He should have lied to them. If he were really a patriotic American, he

wouldn't have thought of telling them the truth.

Q. And Helms gets high marks for perjury?

A. With me and with everyone who has ever been a career officer in the government. Absolutely. You can call it perjury if you like, and maybe it was, but he should have been willing to go to jail for it.

Q. It's OK to lie under oath if you're in the CIA?

A. I said nothing of the sort. If what you know means that telling the truth is going to damage the national interest, it is your obligation . . .

Q. Who decides the national interest?

A. Do you want me to give you a hard time or do you want an answer?

Q. Both.

A. OK, I'll give you an answer: The CIA is set up so that it's impossible for a person as an individual to arrogate to himself the right to lie to a congressional committee or to anyone else. But what he can or cannot say is clearly specified from the day he is sworn in. He can lie to people who are not his bosses, who do not have security clearances. Most congressmen do not have security clearances. When Sen. Frank Church asked me something, and he said, "Will you take an oath?" I said, "Senator,

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I'll take the oath, and I wouldn't think of telling you the truth." Personally, I like Colby very much. He's a very fine man, but he's just the wrong kind of guy to be head of the CIA. He's a good guy.

A. You've got to be a bad guy to head the CIA?

Q. You have to be prepared, as a good soldier does. A good soldier could be religious and have read the Bible, but he's got to go out and kill people. The CIA has to have a separate set of morals. In that sense, you have to be amoral.

Q. Is it true you were once asked by your CIA bosses to kill President Nasser of Egypt?

A. My old boss, Frank Wisner, passed on to me orders that I was to "explore the possibility" of assassinating Gamal Nasser. Poor Wiz didn't like doing even that. But the order came straight from the White House. Anthony Eden, who was Britain's foreign minister at the time, believed the world would be a happier place without Nasser in it, and the belief grew to enormous proportions after the Suez fiasco.

The head of British intelligence, who had a somewhat wry sense of humor, used to say that if either his boys or ours didn't assassinate Nasser "professionally," Eden was likely to do it himself "amateurishly," and the results would be "messy." Eden's attitude was, "At least, we should look into it." He said as much to his opposite number in Washington, John Foster Dulles, and Dulles discussed it with President Eisenhower, who said, in effect, "Anything to keep Tony quiet." The order was passed down, from the president to the secretary of state to the director of the CIA — Foster's brother, Allen — to Frank Wisner to Kermit Roosevelt to me. I was to visit Nasser, have coffee with him, say, "That's an interesting vase you have over there in the corner," and when he turned his head to look, make the motion of slipping a cyanide pill into his cup just to see if he would catch me at it.

Q. Did you do it?

A. Sort of, and I didn't have to use the "look over there" trick. Nasser kept looking the other way out of sheer boredom at what I had to say. Just sitting there with Nasser, rehearsing in my mind just how I would go about sneaking something into his lemonade or coffee, I saw how easy it would have been — theoretically, that is. . . .

Q. One CIA target was President Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, in the summer of 1960. . . .

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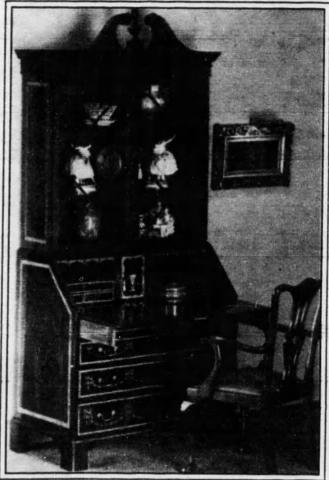
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## SECRET AGENT

Continued

A. Well, now, I'll tell you a brief story to illustrate what a great farce that was. The CIA station chief in the Congo at the time, who I knew very well, was a very sober, conservative fellow who harbored the ambition to get into the State Department. Since he was really a CIA man, his State Department job was only a cover — and at a lower grade than his CIA job called for, to the disgrace of his wife. So his main worry was his wife, who was complaining that she wasn't invited to parties and wasn't seated high enough above the salt at dinners. And he was wondering how he got this lousy job in the Congo.

One day he was contemplating the sadness of his lot when a message arrived from Washington. It had a code word which means this is something you take seriously because this comes from the White House. Ordinarily, when you get an order from headquarters you never obey it the first time because you're not sure they

mean it. It might be some guy telling you to do something to get himself off the hook, being on record as having ordered it. So you always wait until the second time. But if there's a White House code word, you'd better take it seriously.

The message from the White House said he was to assassinate Lumumba — to explore means to terminate with extreme prejudice. He couldn't believe his eyes. The last thing he wanted to do was assassinate anyone, except perhaps his wife! But this thing said he had to go kill Lumumba, and he hadn't the faintest idea how to go about it. Well, then another cable came in, saying somebody was coming out from the scientific section. And up showed this weird little Dr. Strangelove type. So not only does this guy have an order from the White House, he's also got on hand this creep who was going to show him how to do it! Well, the station chief just blew his top, said, "The hell with this," and told Dr. Strangelove to get the hell out.

Q. What else did you do in the CIA?

A. Well, I got my foot in the door in the psychopharmacological department by virtue of my interest in assassination. There are two categories: those which are made to look like natural deaths and those which serve their purpose only if they are

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known to be assassinations. For the first kind, there is a variety of methods, most of them involving poison. Somehow you introduce into the body of your victim two separate substances, at different times, each of which is harmless by itself but which become poisonous when mixed with each other. You wouldn't believe what those weirdos come up with! The congressional subcommittee which went into this sort of thing got only the barest glimpse.

**Q. What did they miss?**

A. You can kill a man by putting a certain substance on a letter you send to him and which gets into his system simply through his holding the letter in his fingers. You can make him allergic to almost anything — alcohol, aspirin tablets, even coffee or tea — so that if he takes even a small quantity of it he will drop over dead. You can program a pair of dogs — even his own dogs — to savage him to death upon a given signal. You can do any number of imaginable and unimaginable things. But you don't have to kill him; you can just make a fool out of him.

**Q. For example?**

A. You can slip an LSD pill into his lemonade as he is about to make a speech, or have an electric fan blow "distress gas" onto him, or you can doctor his notes so that simply by holding them in his hands he will absorb enough hallucinatory materials to make him think he is God. One of Indonesian president Sukarno's best, most electrifying speeches, I understand, was made after one of his assistants, a CIA agent, doctored his shaving lotion. The agent simply forgot that Sukarno's wildest ramblings were made when he was cold sober and that a hallucinogen could only make for an improvement!

**Q. What do you think of today's CIA?**

A. The organization itself is great, and Mr. [William] Casey is tops, but the government won't let it move, and the press is intent on preventing any secret operations it might try to run. As you know, unlike The New York Times, Victor Marchetti and Philip Agee, my complaint has been that the CIA isn't overthrowing enough anti-American governments or assassinating enough anti-American leaders, but I guess I'm getting old. What's keeping the agency inactive is Congress and dis informed public opinion. With modern communications being what they are, we're supposed to be the best informed people in history, but we're not. We're the *most* informed, which is hardly the same thing. □

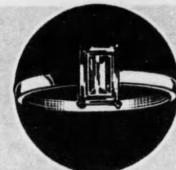
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## LATE KENTUCKY EDITION

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# The Courier-Journal

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## Hope dim for 100 missing in hotel

Associated Press

SINGAPORE — A six-story hotel collapsed yesterday and hope faded for about 100 people still thought to be missing under a huge mound of rubble left 15 hours after rescue operations began. Four people were confirmed dead. Nine injured people were pulled from the wreckage of the 67-room Hotel New World after it collapsed at 11:20 a.m. yesterday in the city of Singapore, said Lim Suan Lam, director of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

No Americans were known to be at the hotel.

No explanation was given for the tragedy, but Home Affairs Minister Shanmugan Jayakumar said officials would investigate the possibility of structural defects or gas explosion.

He said there had been reports of a strong gas odor from the building after the accident, but gave no details.

The New World is in a low-income district in the Asian island nation, and was frequented by Indian and Malaysian tourists. "We did not hear any sound when we used sensitive instruments to ground those who have been trapped," Lim said. When asked what chance the trapped people had of surviving, he was silent.

The state-owned Singapore Development Corp. quoted officials as saying four bodies had been recovered.

A 29-year-old salesman at a nearby store, who gave his name only as Mohamed, said he felt only the walls had turned around.

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Cranes lifted large chunks of rubble from the Singapore hotel that collapsed yesterday.

Associated Press

## Pleasant beams

National Weather Service

LOUISVILLE area — Sunny today, partly cloudy tomorrow. High today, near 60; tomorrow, high 65. Low tonight, near 40.

KENTUCKY — Sunny today. Partly cloudy tomorrow. High today, 55 to 65; tomorrow, 60s. Low tonight, mid-30s to low 40s.

INDIANA — Mostly sunny today, partly sunny tomorrow. High today, upper 60s to north to upper 50s south; tomorrow, 50s to low 60s. Low tonight, low to mid-30s.

TENNESSEE — Partly cloudy today and tomorrow. Highs both days, 60s. Low tonight, mid-30s to 40.

High yesterday, 61; low, 41. Year ago yesterday, high, 53; low, 33. Sun: Rises, 6:53 EST; sets, 6:51. Moon: Rises, 9:49 a.m.; sets, 12:05 a.m.

Weather map and details, Page B 16.



## New proof is reported of acid rain's damage

By LARRY TYE

Staff Writer

When he meets with the prime minister of Canada on Tuesday, President Reagan is expected to acknowledge for the first time that steps to curb acid rain are needed, and his administration stands from Congress to develop cleaner ways to burn coal.

However, that's not enough to halt the swath of damage that acid rain and other air pollutants is cutting across Kentucky and Midwestern states, according to scientists gathered in Chicago.

The researchers presented new reports on that damage, ranging from dead trees in Kentucky forests, to estimates of the cost of pollution-related wear and tear on buildings in Louisville and elsewhere, to a link between acid rain and mercury in lakes and streams.

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Further evidence of acid rain's destructive impact, and how difficult it may be to reverse, came in a study released Friday by the National Academy of Sciences, the nation's foremost scientific association.

The Chicago conference, entitled "Acid Rain: Clouds Over the Midwest," was organized by the National Clean Air Fund, which is affiliated with an association of environmental, public health, consumer and labor groups. Participants at Chicago heard about the following acid-rain-related problems:

"Acid Rain: A threat similar to one that is devastating West Germany's forests plagues the Ohio Valley. Leaves are falling off, branches are hanging limp and trees are thinning and turning an eerie shade of yellow," said Eric Loucks, director of Butler

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## Baptists launching revival hope it saves to advertise

By JOHN C. LONG

Staff Writer

When America's 14 million Southern Baptists launch their first nationwide revival today, millions of Americans will hear the Good News according to Mattie Mark, Luke and Al.

Al? Yep, Louisville's own Alan Jolly. His Jolly Communications firm was hired by the denomination 18 months ago to run the revival campaign.

The Southern Baptist Convention's Home Mission Board handed Jolly a suggested theme, a red-and-white-blue logo and a quarter of a million dollars, and asked him to develop a strategy for an evangelistic effort of unprecedented scope.

The mission board asked him to sell the idea to each of the denomination's state conventions and its nearly 37,000 churches and to spread the evangelistic message to the rest of the nation, especially to the part that doesn't go to church.

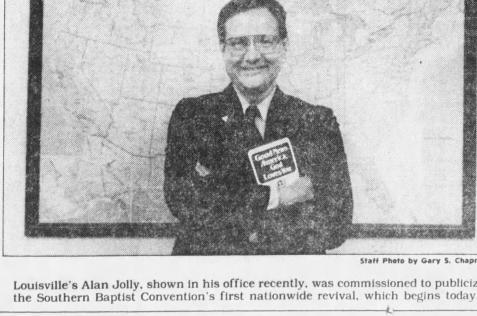
That message — the theme Jolly was given to work with — conveys the heart of the Christian faith in a single line: "Good News, America — God loves you."

To spread the Jolly is using a few tools that weren't available to Mark, Luke and Luke's ads in USA Today, television commercials, billboards and a telephone technique borrowed from the world of marketing that Jolly calls "televangelism."

His quarter-page USA Today ads began running March 7. The first one bore the logo, the love message and the photograph of a little girl in a ruffled pinafore.

The revival will run through April. Designed to recruit new members and re-activate old ones, it will take the form of special services in more than 80 percent of the Southern Baptist churches nation-

wide.



Staff Photo by Gary S. Chapman  
Louisville's Alan Jolly, shown in his office recently, was commissioned to publicize the Southern Baptist Convention's first nationwide revival, which begins today.

and his research has unearthed no such attempt by any other denomination.

To be accurate, the revivals will be nearly simultaneous, spread out over seven weeks. "There had to be some staggering," Jolly said. "Otherwise you would have enough evangelists to go round."

The mission board heard about Jolly from a Missouri Baptist official who had lived in Louisville.

Jolly's task began with a lot of homework.

He pores over Gallup Poll results that the mission board had turned over to him and learned that "the biggest problem in the United States today" is low self-esteem. "People think they're not worth very much" and believe their sins will keep God from loving them. Jolly said.

The Jolly firm conducted its own national opinion poll, and people in all 50 states said the quality they most admire in others is honesty. The poll also showed that people believe God's word and nuclear war is the hope for peace and happiness.

Those results pointed to two rules for the revival campaign, Jolly said: "Be honest. Let people know from the out-

SE BAPTISTS

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## Despite odds, lotteries are winning big in U.S. with politicians, voters

By RICHARD WHITT

Staff Writer

FRANKFORT, Ky. — It's hard to reckon the current popularity of state lotteries.

They are abominable. In some states the chances of winning a top prize are on the order of one in 2.5 million. In many states, the prize money consists of less than 50 cents of every dollar wagered — a return much less favorable to bettors than at any race track or casino.

Lotteries are often attacked sharply by opponents who claim they are a burden on the poor and propel competitive gamblers and their families toward severe hardship.

Yet this ancient method of wagering is making a comeback, unabated, throughout the United States. In fact, it is the fastest-growing type of legal wagering in the country.

Government-run lotteries are operating in 22 states — five have approved them since 1970, and 17 since 1976 — and in the District of Columbia. Congress has in the hopper to create a national lottery, though none is near passage. The Montana legislature has voted to place a lottery issue on the November ballot.

Kentucky is one of a half-dozen other states considering a legal lottery, though the chances that Kentucky will get one appear to have dimmed recently.

House Bill 134, a measure that

would allow voters to decide in November whether to amend the Kentucky Constitution, cleared a House committee Feb. 27, but has not been brought to a vote in the House.

As now written, HB 134 would allow the General Assembly to establish a lottery.

The bill earmarks 50 percent of lottery revenues for education and 50 percent for bonuses to veterans of the Vietnam War. Once these bonuses were paid, that money would be divided among governments.

House approval of HB 134 would require the favorable votes of at least 60 of the 100 members, and House leaders have said it lacks such support.

The bill's sponsor, Rep. William Dickey, D-Bellfonte, said late last week that he is only "a few votes short," and expressed optimism that the bill will be passed this session.

The Indiana General Assembly, in its just-completed session, approved a resolution to remove the ban on

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## AMA rules it is ethical to withhold all treatment if comas are irreversible

By LAWRENCE K. ALTMAN

© New York Times News Service

NEW ORLEANS — An American Medical Association council ruled yesterday that it would be ethical for doctors to withhold "all means of life-sustaining medical treatment, including feeding and water, from patients in irreversible comas even if death was imminent."

Such therapy should be withheld only when a patient cannot be easily diagnosed as irreversible and there are adequate safeguards to confirm the accuracy of the diagnosis," the association's judicial council said.

The opinion could affect at least 10,000 Americans in irreversible comas, according to Dr. Nancy W. Dickey, chairman of the council. The council issued the opinion, which in effect bears the approval of the medical organization, at a meeting on ethics and medicine.

The American Medical Association and the Hastings Center, a research and education institute at Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y., co-sponsored the meeting.

Under AMA bylaws, the judicial council's opinions cannot be overruled by the Association's House of Delegates or by officers and committees only by a majority of the members itself, according to Toba Cohen, a spokeswoman for the Chicago-based organization.

The opinion of the 271,000-member association does not constitute a hard and fast rule for doctors,

but it opens the way for them to withdraw life-prolonging treatment with less fear of being taken to court, and to use the opinion as a defense if they are challenged.

Dr. Alan Cooper, a pediatrician in Richmond, Texas, said the seven-member judicial council reached the decision after discussions that spanned 18 months.

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Although many physicians have interpreted the previous opinions to mean they could withhold food and

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